[63 cont.]

Family groups	Representative animals
Jayériyú	dog (42)

42. It should be made clear that this animal symbol it, or must be, relatively modern, as the dog was unknown before the Conquest. The substitution of this for some other animal, we do not know which, must have occurred in the Post-conquest era for reasons unknown up to now.

Ápuhana	buzzard
S(j)uana	wasp
Soryú	cotaneja
Péusayú	bee

The social or mythical meaning of these animals representing the extended family groups has been lost. At least we could not obtain any verbal declaration from our informants in which we could perceive the actuating presence of the totem, which is what possibly in olden times these animal figures represented. But we have in some cases been able to establish linguistic correspondence between the name of the family group and its characteristic animal. To verify this we can show some examples (43).

[114]

43. We expound this short linguistic study with some reservations since our stay in La Guajira was relatively short, two months approximately, in which length of time the study of the language scarcely reached the rudimentary stage.

1. wi or wü = make
wayú = Indian, people

[63 cont.]

	wiriyé	= Indians (people of the snake)
2.	wükichiner	= people of the snake
	Wuradiru	= fish-serpent, (Arawak of Guiana) (44)

44. Taken from: Anonymous: Arawakisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch [Arawak-German Dictionary]. Copy in manuscript form in possession of the Moravian Unity of Brethren at Zeitau (translated from the German by Eginhard Menghine).

[64]

	wayé	= Indian, people
	würiyé	= people of the rattlesnake
2.	uri	= snake
	ana	= (We do not know the exact meaning of this particle)
	urüna	= must be "descendant of the snake,"

or something similar. Here the linguistic correspondence between the family group and the name of its representative animal is lost to us, as the word or words to designate "jaguar" are kerfiro and kénahaput. But in any case the relation with serpent is interesting.

Another case similar to the former is shown by the Wouriyé family group, which has the partridge for its representative animal. The word for this bird is pér; on the other hand, our breakdown of the word wouriyé -- bearing in mind the reservation already referred to is as follows:

w (from wa or wayé, "we")	=	our [masc., fem.]
oé	=	eye
uri	=	snake
yé (from wayé, Indian, people)	=	people

From which we can deduce that wouriyé can be translated as "people of the eye of our snake."

[64 cont.]

In the case of the Uykayú group, we find another perfect correspondence between the name of the animal and that of the family group:

uyára	= cauquero (a species of deer)
yú	= from wayú Indian, people
uyárayú	= people of the cauquero

The foregoing demonstrates the existence within the Guajiro community of the remains of an ancient clan organization, matrilineal and totemic. We say remains because the significance of the totem, as we have noted, has almost completely disappeared, since there does not exist a fixed prohibition against killing certain animals (in this case the animal corresponding to the group) nor any ceremonial ritual related to it. We do not wish to enlarge on this subject of the existence of totems in La Guajira as this will be treated in a later thesis. We only wish to emphasize the value of the serpent in Guajiro magic for which no [dll] clearer explanation can be found than the connection it maintains with the ancient beliefs related to the totem. It shows us that the greater percentage of Guajiro totemic clans are connected in their name to this creature, also that the serpent's evil effects fall directly on pregnant women, causing harm not to the children, as occurs with other animals (the fox, sparrow hawk, duck...), but directly to the mother.

• • •

The mother-to-be should also avoid seeing a sparrow hawk because if she disobeys this ruling her child will be born bleary eyed, since they say this bird is.

A pregnant woman's husband must not go hunting with a modern weapon -- the rifle -- since he can do this with the traditional weapons, the bow and arrow, for if he does not obey this rule, his wife's labor will be prolonged for a long time, and no remedies nor any other attempts to help her will hasten the birth in any way. When a husband has failed to obey this magico-preventative medicinal norm, it is necessary to obtain a rifle -- preferably the one the husband used in his hunting --

953 [78] In the Guajiro mentality sickness, as we were able to see
952 in the corresponding sections ("Medicine and Sickness" and "Life Cycle of the Shaman"), is not something provoked by natural causes but is the consequence of the malevolent action of some special being, above all, of a spirit. So a series of beliefs, magic preventatives, have been established in order to avoid or ward off the hostile action of these spirits on the individual, as we were able to note in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine." We also saw in the matter relating to magic and sickness how certain animals, plants, and objects could be agents by contamination or participation in the cause and development of
[79] sickness. But it is particularly the spirit of the dead, offended and malevolent, that causes major disasters among the Guajiro, as is shown by their beliefs and their own preventative systems.

•192 We can get aid from linguistics to clarify this concept.
953 The word that the Guajiro uses for illness in general is wanurú,
955 and the same word is the one that is used for the spirit of the dead -- the devil, according to all writers and even to the na-
[147] tives themselves, due to the effects of religious acculturation provoked by the Capuchin fathers. Still further, if we break
[192] down the word we find that it is formed of three special particles, wa, nun rn, which separately correspond to three different concepts: Wa is derived from the first person plural of the personal pronoun waré, which means "we"; nu, or simply n, is nothing more than the general contraction of the third person singular of the personal pronoun niá, "he," and rú is a relative particle derived from nurú or hurú (t or h according to which dialectal zone the word is taken from), which signifies "inside," "inside of," or "within." In view of the idiomatic composition of the Guajiro dialect, we can with all safety translate the word wanurú as follows: "he, inside of us." The linguistic construction therefore corresponds to a social reality: sickness, wanurú, is nothing more than that: the spirit of the dead that has entered an individual in order to cause him a particular illness for some disrespect or other that he has shown toward the spirit, or simply just because it is a malignant and vindictive spirit.

[71] The relation sickness -- death -- spirit, which will later be
955 the object of a special study on our part, can be proved through
956 linguistics in many of the aboriginal Colombian and even American

[97 cont.]
which we have referred on various occasions in this work.

Hunting charms. We could only acquire data about the type of talismans connected with the hunting of deer and rabbits. The object of such a talisman is a double one; on one hand, it inculcates ability and quickness on the part of the hunter who possesses it; and on the other, it exercises a restraining action on the animal he wishes to kill, as [98] according to the native belief, it stops its flight and converts it into an easy prey for the hunter.

The charm for facilitating the hunting of rabbits is made with bejuco leaves, a plant known in La Guajira by the name of ɨtpana-pi (ɨtpana = "rabbit"). The leaves of this plant, which are used for making the charm, are long and shaped like a cartridge, which gives them a great likeness to rabbit ears. Besides this, it serves as food for rabbits, which they like a great deal.

To make the charm, the hunter carefully collects the leaves, grinds them up, and with the resulting powder makes small pellets resembling rabbit excrement. One of these small balls is carefully tied with a thread and is placed in the middle of the tassel which adorns the hand guard they use when drawing the bow. The effect of the charm is directed against the rabbit, limiting its chance of flight and thus making it easier for the hunter to secure his prey.

The charm used in hunting deer is also made from a plant well known to the hunters. This plant, in form like the bejuco, has wide leaves which shine like a mirror. It abounds in the forest and requires no special cultivation. In La Guajira it is called ɨupana-unú; (ɨu = neuter; pana = "leaf," "liver"; unú = "tree," "pole"; wunú = "remedy"). It is prepared in a similar way to that for hunting the rabbit and, as in that case, it is carried on the person of the hunter in the shape of small pellets which are tied to the hand guard of his bow. Once finished it takes the name of tipi-irɨma, (irɨma = "deer"), and its object is to make the hunting of the deer easier by attracting it toward the hunter, who thus cannot fail in his shot. It also prevents the animal's flight, thus making it, as in the case of the rabbit, an easy prey.

[146] the people during the deluge on the high hill of Pororo, which he made to grow higher as the waters rose." (78)

78. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 49-50.

7. When we spoke of natural phenomena in magic, we stated that a kind of veneration was very commonly paid by the natives to an iguana that lives in the crevices of rocks, especially in the cliffs of the coast; veneration that is manifested outwardly by fiestas and dances and is intended to influence the iguana not to put obstacles in the way of the rains, which are under his dominion. Up to this point the fact appears to have no connection with the subject which we are treating, but supported by linguistics, we shall clarify our point of view:

The Guajiro word for iguana is iwána, and it can be split up thus: iwa, "rain" (this is what the Indians call the rain that falls in summer, April); na, particle which seems to denote an abundance of something, as may be seen in these other examples: ipa-na-rũ, a La Guajiro place name which means "among many rocks" and corresponds in context to: a conical depression that holds rain water situated among many rocks; garrapatamana, another place name descriptive of its meaning, "a place where there are many animal ticks [garrabatas]. According to the above, iwána means an "abundance of rain."

Now, the word by which the constellation of the Seven Kids is called when in a certain position it coincides with the summer rains, is iwa, the same as "rain." Furthermore, from the name "Mareiwa" we can separate the constant particle, iwa, "rain." Unfortunately, we could discover nothing that might correspond to the first particle, máre, in the vocabulary we collected, nor in others that have been published and which we had the opportunity to consult. But, on reviewing a dictionary of the Arawak language of the Guianas, with which the Guajiro dialect is closely linked, we find that mali is the name of a "certain star"; malidalte is "beginning of drought." "The name is derived from the star mali." (79)

79. Anonymous. Op. cit., 71.

[146 cont.]

If we accept the idea that the Guajiro are descended from the Arawak of the Guianas, with whom they are intimately connected both by their language and culture, there is nothing strange to be found in the formation of the name Mareiwa from mali, male (the l and the r do not exist in the Guajiro language), and fwa, words that are used to name stars and in consequence must be related to the general Arawak cosmogony. In any case, the linguistic association of star-rain-god-divinity confirms the statement which we have made that Mareiwa [147] is none other than the propitiatory spirit of the rains, and by the same token, that of good harvests, of abundance, and of well-being.

The harsh geographical conditions of La Guajira and the technical incapacity of the native to dominate and put them in his service without incurring the great inconveniences which are above all occasioned by the climate, have caused this being (Mareiwa) to be raised to first position in the category of protector spirits of the community. Also, the changes brought about in their economy during past centuries have contributed to this advance in status, because since the introduction of stock grazing, winter has become more and more indispensable for the maintenance of pasture, without which the stock would suffer serious losses. We have no data relating to the myths or religion of these Indians at the time of the Conquest but what we have unearthed and the fact that there is a veritable confusion with respect to the origin and functions of Mareiwa point to the fact that, in a certain way, the Guajiro are living in a state of transition with regard to their divinities, we might almost say a moment of true creation of their gods which has not yet been definitively achieved, and for which contact with western civilization has created difficulties which by now are practically insurmountable.

Wanurú. As we referred extensively to the wanurú when we were speaking of sickness and the shaman, we shall add only a few details here and systematize the knowledge we have acquired about this matter up to now.

1. The wanurú can harm the Guajiro bodily and spiritually, bodily by means of such sicknesses as attack men, animals,

[158 cont.]

262 meat of animals sacrificed during the wake of a deceased member of the family. The murderer's self-denial of all solid food in his daily diet is another proof of the intervention of magic in the aspect of the Guajiro's nourishment. The ceremonies of propitiation for rain and the ripening of the harvests are other palpable demonstrations of the intervention of magic in this way.

[189]

754 c) And, finally, in relation to aggression, we see the very
789 marked influence of magic, particularly in the charms which are used to cause injury to certain people: for example, those made of a young woman's hair, the blood of a hummingbird, the tail of a dog, and achiote to make a girl fall in love with a man who later intends to betray her; or the one used by women who, having bought a talisman from a woman expert in those matters, place it in the clothes of a man whom they wish to harm after acquiring an old sandal of his and burning it, so as to cause him
182 bodily and mental injury. Furthermore, magic forewarns and
787 allows an individual to foresee the acts of aggression of which
789 he or a clan or a family group is going to be the victim by the interpretation of the shaman's dream or that of a private person, as was seen in the section "Magic and dreams" in Chapter VIII. The effect of magic on the regimen for individual security and collective stability tends to be that of saving the person or the group, as the case may be, from acts of aggression on the part of potential enemies, such acts being foreseen through magic means properly interpreted.

Names of Plants and Animals

Plants:

104 achiote (Bixa orellana)

● 192 ahuyama [squash] (Cucurbita máxima)

824 artemisia (f. Synantherae or Compositae)

indigo (f. Leguminosae)

cardon (Pilocereus atroviridis)

mahogany cedar (fam. Cedrilaceae, Sp. Mahogoni of Linnaeus)

lupine (Abrus precatorius) [Indian licorice]

[158 cont.]

(64) divi-divi (Libidibia coriaria. Jacq.) [156]
(192) frailejon (Espeletia spp.)
(824) guamacho (Pereskia colombiana. Webb).
guayacan (f. Zygophyllaceae) [In Venezuela, Tabebuia guayacan (family Bignoniaceae)]
plantain (f. Plantaginaceae, sp. Urena)
ortongue (Polygonaceae, g. Rumex)
mamoncillo (f. Sapindaceae, sp. Bijuga)
mangrove tree (f. Rhizophoraceae)
orreye (f. Papilionaceae)
nettle (f. Urticaceae)
watermelon (Cucurbita vulgaris)
quina dulce [sweet quina] (Cinchona spp.)
sage (fam. Labiataceae) [Labiatae?]
elder or alder tree (f. Caprifoliaceae)
purslane (f. Portulacaceae, g. Portulaca)
vira-vira (f. Compositae, g. Gnaphalium)
yucca, camava (Manihot utilissima)

Animals:
(184) bee (order Hymenoptera)
(192) bittern (botaurus cayennensis)
(825) wasp (order Hymenopt.)
owl (Bubo virginianus elatus)
cauquero (sp. of deer)
colibri (fam. Trochilidae)
rabbit (sylvilagus apollinaris)
rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificus)
hunting snake [culebra cazadera] (Clelia clelia)
buzzard (Coragyps atratus foetens)
cattle tick (g. Boophilus)
sparrow hawk (harpagus bidentatus)
iguana (order of the saurians)
owl (Tyto alba sabandeana)
machorro, sp. of lizard (order of the saurians)
bat (Carollia perspicillata)

2: Pipeda Gtaide---180 8-6 (1947) 1950 SC13 Google SC13

[110 cont.]
[89] woodpecker (Campbiona lineatus)
[92] domestic duck (Anas platyrhynchos)
[85] partridge (Perdix rubra)
ray (Rajas laeis) [160]
jaguar (Felis onca)
tropical (L. Icteridae)
peccary (Pecari)
fox (Canis vitrea)
curl (Cavia anolaimae)
mountain cat (margay tigrina)
deer (Cervus elaphus)

St Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Guajiro SC13

In weapons the Guajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the ranche without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in his hand. Arrows are of three classes: bolts for killing birds and lizards, bats, having a ball or piece of hard wood for a head neatly covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, *ajuarvel*, with iron heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and thirdly the terrible poisoned reps, *ekaral*: these are an ordinary arrow-shaft, with two inches of the long weapon of the sting-ray (*guecaguel*) heavily fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent [illegible], each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is putrefied animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrefy and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the [278] same when too old, as the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated intervals (about nine months). Death advances from three to twelve days afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is tolerably certain if the ray-bone has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound well cauterized with a red-hot nail. The Cashons of Yuripicho are reputed the best makers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bunch of twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a dram cut of cotton (eight yards. Some of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from cane, reeds, and also solid wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the old "Crown" or "Tower" flintlock (*carabina*) to the Remington rifle, on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flint-lock (*carabina cuatro-puntos*) is also much liked.

The principal industries among the Guajiros are collecting horse-hair, [222] dividivi, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and 233 goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are celebrated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor trouble on his flocks.

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in 1878 by Rafael Celedon. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence. The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken as a whole has a stylendorous, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so than the neighbouring Arhuaco. I have no space here to dwell upon its beauties, but cannot dismiss the subject without giving the following three examples of mode-used words:—

Adáinga, a mouse.	Ita, a cup (gourd).	Yaca, a headdress.
Taidáinga, my mouse.	Taitáita, my cup.	Taiápaca, my headdress.
Puidáinga, your mouse.	Puitáita, your cup.	Puiápaca, your headdress.
Ridáinga, his mouse.	Ritáita, his cup.	Riápaca, his headdress.
Eaidáinga, her mouse.	Eaitáita, her cup.	Eiápaca, her headdress.

9: Santa Cruz E>5 (1958) 1960
$C13 Goajiro SC13

Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige. About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews. Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen among the oldest and more respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epieyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

It is interesting to note—and it shows how much acculturation Guajiro culture has undergone with the assimilation of the cattle complex—that the true Guajiro term for leader or chief (which also means "old man") *alat'laa* is almost all but forgotten and practically never used, having been substituted by the word *to'olo* a corruption of the Spanish word *toro* meaning BULL. (Stops are not glottal, but simple stoppage of the sound to be renewed with the coming vowel. Phonetic transcription have followed those given by Dr. Martha Hilderbrand's work on the Guajiro language published by the Comisión Indigenista, Venezuela, in 1958).

The role of Fernandez as leader of the Uriana clan is an exact replica of Silva's. He acts as advisor, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

Here we have, then, the two traditional ways of acquiring status in Guajiro society that the present writer has been able to investigate; one through inheritance, as in the case of Panchito Silva; and the other, through selection by a council of elders, as in the case of José de la Rosa Fernandez. It is doubtful that